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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

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TAGS: AO, CG, PFOR

SUBJECT: ZAIRE/ANGOLA -- TELEZAIRE INTERVIEW COMMISSIONER FONAFFAIRS

BULA JANUARY 17.

1. SUMMARY: COMMISSIONER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS BULA MANDUNGU IN ONE AND ONE-HALF HOUR INTERVIEW ON TELEZAIRE JANUARY 17 RESPONDED TO QUESTIONS ON ANGOLA, COVERING IMPORTANCE OF ANGOLA TO ZAIRE, ANTI-US CREDENTIALS, SOUTH AFRICAN AND SOVIET INTERVENTION, AND GOZ ATTITUDE TOWARD MPLA. END SUMMARY.

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2. FOLLOWING ARE POINTS MADE BY ZAIRE COMMISSIONER OF STATE FOR

FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO TELEVISION INTERVIEW JANUARY 17:

3. IMPORTANCE OF ANGOLA TO ZAIRE

BOTH ZAIRE AND ZAMBIA HAVE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP TO ANGOLA. ZAIRE HAS 2600 KM BORDER WITH ANGOLA. 70 PERCENT OF ITS COPPER EXITS VIA BENGUELA RAILROAD. IMPORTS FOR SHABA ENTER SAME ROUTE. THUS ANGOLA NOT

ONLY AFFECTS EVERY ZAIRIAN, BUT ALSO ZAIRE'S CONTINUED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

ZAIRE HAS NO TERRITORIAL DESIGNS ON ANY PART OF ANGOLA AND HAS DONE MORE THAN ITS DUTY AS AFRICAN STATE BY OFFERING SHELTER, SCHOOLING, MEDICAL BENEFITS TO ANGOLAN REFUGEES -- OFTEN AT EXPENSE OF ZAIRIANS THEMSELVES. ZAIRE'S MOTIVES IN ANGOLA FAR PURER THAN THOSE OF SOME COUNTRIES REMOTE FROM ANGOLA WHOSE ACTIONS SERVE TO DIVIDE NOT ONLY ANGOLA BUT ALL OF AFRICA. MENAWHILE THESE SAME COUNTRIES DO NOTHING TO AID ZIMBABWE OR NAMIBIA.

4. ANTI-AMERICAN CREDENTIALS

ZAIRE IS NOT SYSTEMATICALLY ANTI-SOVIET. FINDS AND CONDEMNS IMPERIALISM BOTH ON LEFT AND RIGHT, BOTH SOVIET AND AMERICAN. ZAIRE IS ONLY AFRICAN COUNTRY TO HAVE EXPELLED TWO AMERICAN AMBASSADORS WHEN THEY TRIED TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. ZAIRE IS NOBODY'S VALET. MOBUTU AT OPENING OF AAI CONFERENCE IN JANUARY 1975 ACCUSED US OF HAVING NO AFRICAN POLICY AND DENOUNCED THE "SORDID MANEUVER" OF WASHINGTON IN NAMING NATHANIEL DAVIS ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICA

NEGLECTING ZAIRIAN SYMPATHY FOR ALLENDE. ZAIRE WAS ALSO NEUTRAL IN THE VIETNAM CONFLICT -- MUCH TO THE CHAGRIN OF THE AMERICANS. AND IT WAS MOBUTU WHO INVITED MME. BINH TO ADDRESS THE OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AT DAR-ES-SALAAM.

5. ANGOLA, A CHANCE MISSED

APROPOS OF SOVIET INTERVENTION, HAD ANGOLA BEEN ALLOWED TO ACCEDE TO INDEPENDENCE TO PEACE, THIS WOULD HAVE SERVED AS EXAMPLE OF HOW BLACK MAJORITY COULD ASSUME POWER WHILE ASSURING LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF WHITE COMMUNITY -- EXAMPLE WHICH MIGHT HAVE SERVED WELL IN NAMIBIA. CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS, HOWEVER, WILL BE TAKEN BY SOUTH AFRICAN RACISTS AS PROOF THAT BLACKS ARE NOT SUFFICIENTLY MATURE TO ASSUME POWER. THERE IS A DANGER, TOO, THAT EVENTS IN ANGOLA MAY BE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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REPEATED IN RHODESIA IF AND WHEN A BLACK MAJORITY COMES TO POWER THERE.

6. SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION

ZAIRE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID IS WELL KNOWN. ZAIRE CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA. BUT THIS SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE IS NOT NEW. SA TROOPS WERE PRESENT IN ANGOLA BY AGREEMENT WITH PORTUGUESE PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS ARRANGEMENT

APPROVED EVEN BY GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMUNIST GONCALVES. MPLA WAS PRESENT IN THIS SAME REGION UNTIL A FEW MONTHS AGO, AND NOW IS IN AREA EXPLOITED BY THE DIAMOND PRODUCING COMPANY DIAMANG, AFFILIATE OF A SOUTH AFRICAN FIRM FORM WHICH MPLA RECEIVES FINANCIAL SUPPORT.

7. ZAIRE NOT ANTI-MPLA

ZAIRE HAS HELPED ALL THREE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. UNITA PRESENCE IN ZAIRE WAS ACCEPTED. MPLA REPRESENTATION WOULD HAVE BEEN WELCOME. NETO ONE LIVED IN KINSHASA, HAD MEDICAL CLINIC THERE. IT IS NOT FOR ZAIRE TO ACCEPT OR REJECT AN MPLA GOVERNMENT, OR ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT IN ANGOLA. THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT WHICH ANGOLA IS TO HAVE IS A MATTER FOR ANGOLANS TO DECIDE. WHATEVER THEY DECIDE, ZAIRE WILL ACCEPT AND HONOR. BUT THE DECISION SHOULD BE TAKEN FREELY BY ANGOLANS, NOT UNDER PRESSURE OF RUSSIAN, CUBAN OR SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION.

8. SOVIET INTERVENTION

ASKED MOTIVE FOR SOVIET INTERVENTION, USSR AMBASSADOR DID NOT ANSWER CLEARLY. DID INDICATE, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAS RELATED TO CHINESE EFFORT. IF TRUE, WHY DID SOVIETS NOT WITHDRAW WHEN CHINESE INSTRUCTORS DEPARTED? ANGOLA IS PART OF SOVIET WORLD PLAN. STRANGE HOW SUPERPOWER TEND TO ACT ALIKE. WHEN US ACTED AS WORLD POLICEMAN, SEVENTH FLEET OFTEN APPEARED OFF COAST OF TROUBLED AREAS. SOVIET

NAVAL UNITS WERE ALSO OFF COAST OF ANGOLA DURING OAU SUMMIT. ZAIRE DOESN'T WANT TO FIGHT THE SOVIETS, AND HASN'T THE MEANS. BUT IT WILL NEVER ACCEPT SOVIET IMPERIALISM.

9. US COUNTER TO SOVIETINTERVENTION?

COUNTER-INTERVENTION BY AMERICANS UNLIKELY. US HAS OWN PROBLEMS: WATERGATE, TRAUMA OF VIETNAM, INFLATION, CIA SCANDALS, ETC. BESIDES, ZAIRE DOESN'T WANT TO SEE ANGOLAN CONFLICT INTERNATIONALIZED. WHEN SUPERPOWERS INTERVENE THEY HAVE THEIR OWN OBJECTIVES IN MIND. ZAIRE DOESN'T WANT TO SEE AFRICANS USED AS PAWNS IN SUPERPOWER GAME. BUT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IS US MONEY WORSE THAN SOVIET MONEY? RE. BRIBE OF CERTAIN AFRICAN COUNTRIES BY USSR TO SECURE THEIR RECOGNITION OF MPLA, BULA HAD SEEN DOCUMENTARY PROOF. BUT ZAIRE DOESN'T WANT TO EMBARRASS ANOTHER AFRICAN COUNTRY, WILL NOT NAME RECEIPIENT OF BRIBE.

10. OAU

TRUE, OAU COULDN'T ACT. BUT THIS HAPPENS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, THE OAU IS STILL INTACT, STILL HEALTHY.

11. COMMENT.

INTERVIEW APPEARS TO HAVE HAD FOUR MAIN OBJECTIVES:

- A) RATIONALIZE ZAIRE'S OWN SPECIAL INTEREST IN ANGOLA.
- B) ISSUE CAUTIOUS CONDEMNATION OF SOVIET INTERVENTION. (BUT NO MENTION OF DILOLO ATTACK, OR NOTIFICATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL.)

C) DOWNPLAY ACTUAL OR PROSPECTIVE US COUNTER-ROLE TO SOVIET ACTION.

D) ALLOW THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME SORT OF ACCOMMODATION WITH THE MPLA, SHOULD THIS BECOME NECESSARY.

12. PRIOR TO SCREENING OF INTERVIEW JANUARY 17, BULA CALLED IN SOVIET AND CUBAN AMBASSADORS. NOT CLEAR WHETHER SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S EXPLANATION

CITED ABOVE WAS MADE AT THIS TIME, OR A LAST MEETING

IN DECEMBER. OFFICIAL RADIO, VOICE OF ZAIRE, SAID THAT,

FOLLOWING JANUARY 17 MEETING, SOVIET AMBASSADOR APPEARED "WELL AT EASE", CUBAN "TERRIFIED".

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